

## Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-05 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 EB-07 CU-02 IO-10 STR-04 OES-03

FEA-01 ERDA-05 SAM-01 OMB-01 /099 W  
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FM AMEMBASSY BERLIN

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INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BERLIN 6523

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GE, CSCE

SUBJECT: GDR POLITBURO REPORT ON RESULTS OF HELSINKI

1. SUMMARY: IN A SPEECH AT THE 15 PLENARY MEETING OF  
THE SED CENTRAL COMMITTEE, POLITUBOR MEMBER HERMANN AXEN  
PRESENTED AN OFFICIAL POLITBURO REPORT ON THE RESULTS OF  
HELSINKI CONTAINING THE FOLLOWING NOTALBLE POINTS:

A) AXEN'S CHARACTERIZATION OF THE CSCE DOCUMENT AS HAVING  
THE FORCE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW; B) HIS STATEMENT THAT  
CBM'S SUCH AS THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF LARGE MILITARY MANUEVERS  
AND INVITATIONS TO OBSERVERS WERE VOLUNTARY UNDER CSCE;

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AND C) HIS OBSERVATION THAT FURTHER PROGRESS IN ECONOMIC

AND HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION MUST COME THROUH BILATERAL  
AND HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION MUST COME THROUGH BILATERAL  
AND MULTILATERAL TREATIES. END SUMMARY:

2. ON THE OCCASION OF THE 15 TH PLENUM OF THESED CENTRAL  
COMMITTEE ON OCTOBER 2, 1975, DEVOTED LARGELY TO  
PREPARATIONS FOR THE NINTH PARTY CONGRESS, SCHEDULED  
FOR MAY, 1976, SED POLITBURO MEMBER HERMANN AXEN  
DELIVERED TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AN EXTENSIVE POLIT-  
BURO REPORT ON THE RESULTS OF CSCE. HIS SPEECH COMPLE-  
MENTS THE INTERVIEW BY SED FIRST SECRETARY ERICH HONECKER  
CARRIED IN NEUES DEUTSCHLAND AUGUST 6 AND HONECKER'S  
STRIDENT SEPTEMBER 11 SPECH TO GDR AIR DEFENSE FORCES  
IN THE CONTINUING GDR EFFORT TO INTERPRET THE CSCE  
DOCUMENT TO ITS OWN ADVANTAGE AND BRINGNG THAT INTERPRE-  
TATION HOME TO THE EAST GERMAN POPULATION. AS THE  
POLITBURO MEMBER DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR INTERNATIONAL  
AFFAIRS AND AS CHIEF COORDINATOR OF GDR PREPARATIONS  
FOR HELSINKI AND THE EURPEAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE,  
AXEN IS AN INFLUENTIAL FIGURE IN GDR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, MORE  
SO THAN FOREIGN MINISTER OSKAR FISCHER, AND THUS HIS  
INFREQUENT PUBLIC STATEMENTS CARRY SPECIAL IMPORTANCE.

3. IN THE POLITBURO REPORT, AXEN COMMENCES BY DEFINING  
THE IMPORTANCE OF CSCE. FOR AXEN, HELSINKI REPRESENTS  
THE MOST SIGNIFICANT INTERNATIONAL ACTION TO CONSOLIDATE  
SECURITY AND REALIZE THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE  
IN EUROPE SINCE THE ANTI-HITLER COALITION. APART  
FROM SIGNIFYING A VICTORY FOR THE LENINIST POLICY OF  
PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE BETWEEN STATES WITH  
OPPOSING (NOT JUST DIFFERING) SOCIAL SYSTEMS PURSUED  
BY THE SOVIET UNION FOR FIFTY YEARS, HELSINKI HAS IN  
AXEN'S VIEW ASSURED RECOGNITION BY THE CSCE SIGNATORIES  
OF THE WESTERN BOUNDARIES OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM IN  
EUROPE. THUS, CSCE HAS CONFIRMED THE POLITICAL AND TERRI-  
TORIAL RESULTS OF WORLD WAR II AND THE POST-WAR  
PERIOD AND ESTABLISHED THEM UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW,  
OPENING A NEW HISTORICAL PHASE ON THE WAY TO CONVERTING  
EUROPE INTO A CONTINENT OF PEACE. AXEN TWICE REFERS  
TO THE RESULTS OF WORLD WAR II, SPECIFICALLY THE BORDERS  
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QUESTION, AS HAVING NOW BEEN RECOGNIZED UNDER INTERNATIONAL  
LAW AS A RESULT OF HELSINKI.

4. TURNING TO SPECIFIC SECTIONS OF THE CSCE  
DOCUMENT, AXEN REPEATS THE NOW-FAMILIAR GDR VIEW THAT  
THE INTRODUCTORY CODEX OF THEN PRINCIPLES IS THE KEY TO  
CSCE IN THAT IT MEETS THE PRIMARY GOAL OF THE CONFERENCE:  
SECURITY. THE PRINCIPLES OF TERRITORIAL INTERGRITY,

SANCITY OF BOUNDARIES, SOVEREIGN EQUALITY AMONG STATES, AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THE TEN PRINCIPLES AND FORM A FRAMEWORK FOR A COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEMS IN EUROPE. GIVEN THE OVERRIDING IMPORTANCE OF SECURITY, AXEN CONCLUDES, THE REST OF THE CSCE DOCUMENT MUST BE INTERPRETED IN TERMS OF THE INTRODUCTORY CODEX.

5. AXEN GOES ON TO DISCUSS CBM'S AND, AFTER NOTING THAT CSCE WAS NOT A DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE, LAUDS CBM'S AS A STEP TOWARD MILITARY DETENTE. HOWEVER, HE EMPHASIZES THAT ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF LARGE MILITARY MANEUVERS AND THE ISSUANCE OF INVITATIONS TO OBSERVERS FOR SUCH MANEUVERS ARE VOLUNTARY AND MUST BE SEEN IN TERMS OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY.

6. ON THE SUBJECT OF ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION, AXEN OBSERVES THAT THE ENERGY CRISIS HAS MADE THE WEST EUROPEAN STATES INTERESTED IN TRADE AND COOPERATION WITH THE EAST. YET, IN SPITE OF THIS INTEREST AND DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE CSCE DOCUMENT CONTAINS SUPPORT FOR MFN AS A POSTIVE FACTOR IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE, CAPITALIST STATES CONTINUE TO DENY MFN TO SOCIALIST COUNTRIESM AXEN STRESSES THAT TRADE WILL DEVELOP ON THE BASIS OF THE INTRODUCTORY CODEX: THUS RESPECT FOR THEINTERNAL LAWS OF EACH COUNTRY WILL BE ESSENTIAL AND PROGRESS WILL BE MADE ON THE BASIS OF BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL AGREEMENTS.

7. AXEN SHOWS RESOLVE ON THE HUMANITARIAN ISSUE, EMPHASIZING THAT THE SOCIALIST STATES HAVE NOTHING TO MAKE UP FOR IN FREEDOM OF INFORMATION, CULTURAL EXCHANGE AND TRAVEL. IN THIS REGARD,HE DRAWS UPON THE GDR'S FAVORITE EXAMPLE, THE FACT THAT THE SOVIET UNION AND THE

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GDR PUBLISHED AND WIDELY DISTRIBUTED THE CSCE FINAL DOCUMENT IN FULL. HE STRESSES THAT COOPERATION IN HUMANITARIAN AREAS CAN PROCEED ONLY ON THE BASIS OF THE CSCE INTRODUCTORY CODEX AND STATES THAT THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER COUNTRIES MEANS THAT THE POLITICAL, EXONOMIC AND CULTURAL SYSTEM OF EACH STATE MUST BE RESPECTED. HE ACCUSES IMPERIALIST CIRCLES IN THE WEST OF TRYING TO UNDERMINE THE HELSINKI DOCUMENT BY REPLACING SECURITY WITH HUMANITARIAN AND CULTURAL QUESTIONS AS THE CENTRAL POINT OF CSCE AND WARNS THAT FURTHER PROGRESS IN THE HUMANITARIAN FIELD WILL COME ONLY AS DETENTE PROGRESSES AND THE INTRODUCTORY PRINCIPLES ON SECURITY ARE REALIZED, AND THEN ONLY THROUGH BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL AGREEMENTS.

8. AXEN DEVOTES A LARGE PORTION OF THE POLITBURO REPORT TO CHARACTERIZING THE POSITION OF THE IMPERIALIST STATES AFTER HELSINKI. ACCORDING TO AXEN, THERE ARE TWO CONFLICTING TENDENCIES AT WORK IN IMPERIALIST FOREIGN POLICY: THE MAIN TENDENCY IS ONE OF ACCOMMODATION WITH THE SHIFT IN THE WORLD BALANCE OF POWER IN FAVOR OF THE SOCIALIST STATES; THE OTHER IS ONE OF REACTION AND AGGRESSION EXPRESSED IN AN ANTI-DETENTE WAVE IN CERTAIN IMPERIALIST CIRCLES AFTER HELSINKI. THIS SECOND TENDENCY, ALTHOUGH NOT DOMINANT, MAKES "SUDDEN CHANGES" IN THE WORLD SITUATION A CONTINUING POSSIBILITY AND NECESSITATES INCREASED LEVELS OF MILITARY PREPAREDNESS AND IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE. FOR AXEN, CSCE DOES NOT LESSEN THE IRRECONCILABLE CLASS STRUGGLE BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND IMPERIALISM.

TROUBLE SPOTS PERSIST IN THE MIDDLE EAST, CYPRUS, NORTHERN IRELAND AND PORTUGAL WHERE IMPERIALIST INTERFERENCE HAS CREATED NEW TENSIONS. AXEN SINGLES OUT ATTEMPTS BY MAOISTS TO ALLY WITH REACTIONARY CIRCLES IN EUROPE AND THE US AND A CAMPAIGN BY THE US MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX AGAINST DETENTE AS TWO FURTHER REASONS WHY "SUDDEN CHANGES" COULD OCCUR IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. FINALLY, AXEN ACCUSES IMPERIALIST CIRCLES IN THE WEST OF TRYING TO "SABOTAGE, INJURE AND BREAK" THE HARD-WON ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF CSCE, PARTICULARLY IN THEIR ATTEMPTS TO PORTRAY HUMANITARIAN AND CULTURAL ISSUES RATHER THAN THE

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QUESTION OF SECURITY AS THE MOST IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT.

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9. AT THE CONCLUSION OF HIS SPEECH, AXEN ADVOCATES TWO IMMEDIATE STEPS TO CONSOLIDATE THE RESULTS OF THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE. FIRST, HE CALLS FOR STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THE CODEX OF TEN PRINCIPLES OF COEXISTENCE TO ASSURE THEIR VALIDITY. AND SECOND, HE CALLS FOR PROGRESS ON NUCLEAR DISARMEMENT AND MBFR TO CONSOLIDATE POLITICAL DETENTE WITH MILITARY DETENTE. HE CRITICIYES RECENT INCREASES IN THE US AND FRG DEFENSE BUDGETS AND THE STATIONING OF TWO MORE US BRIGADES IN THE NORTHERN FRG AS EVIDENCE OF INCREASED PREPARATION BY THE NATO COUNTRIES FOR A NEW WAR. AXEN EXPRESSES SUPPORT FOR SOVIET PROPOSALS ON DISARMAMENT AT THE 30TH UNGA AND CALLS FOR CONFIDENTIAL

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TROOP RESUCTIONS AND AN END TO THE ARMS RACE.

10. CONCRETE REFERENCES TO GDR RELATIONS WITH THE US ARE CONTAINED IN THE SECTION OF AXEN'S REPORT ON THE ROLE OF THE GDR IN THE CSCE CONFERENCE. IN HIS VIEW, THE GDR'S PARTICIPATION IN CSCE WAS A CONCRETE EXAMPLE OF THE STRENGTHENED POSITION AND HIGH REGARD THE GDR NOW ENJOYS IN THE INTERNATIONAL AREANA. FOR AXEN,THE FACT THAT THE GDR IS NOW WIDELY RESPECTED IN THE WORLD AT LARGE INCREASES ITS RESPONSIBILITIES WITHIN THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY. TAKING NOTE THAT DURING THE CSCE CONFERENCE MANY HEADS OF CAPITALIST STATES STRIVED TO SEE HONECKER,

AXEN HIGHLIGHTS HONECKER'S "TALK" WITH PRESIDENT FORD AND SAYS THAT BOTH SIDES HAD AGREED THAT IN THE ATOMIC AGE THERE WAS NO ALTERNATIVE TO PEACE AND THAT THE BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES SHOULD BE DEVELOPED STEADILY IN THE INTEREST OF PEACE AND TO THE MUTUAL ADVANTAGE OF BOTH COUNTRIES. AXEN ALSO MENTIONS HONECKER'S MEETING WITH FRG CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT, BUT ASSIGNS IT SECONDARY IMPORTANCE BEHIND HONECKER'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT FORD.

11. COMMENT: AXEN'S SPEECH REPRESENTS THE CLEAREST ATTEMPT BY THE GDR TO LEND THE FORCE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW TO THOSE INTRODUCTORY PRINCIPLES OF THE HELSINKI DOCUMENT THAT TOUCH ON BOUNDARY QUESTIONS. HIS EMPHASIS ON THE SECURITY ISSUE AND HIS INSISTENCE THAT PROGRESS IN ECONOMIC AND HUMANITARIAN FIELDS WILL COME ONLY THROUGH BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL AGREEMENTS PRESENTS NOTHING NEW, BOTH POSITIONS HAVING BEEN LAID OUT PREVIOUSLY IN HONECKER'S PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON CSCE. HIS ARGUMENT THAT CBM'S ARE VOLUNTARY BECAUSE THEY FALL UNDER THE PRINCIPLE OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY REPRESENTS A RESPONSE TO THE PRIOR ANNOUNCEMENT OF NATO MANUEVERS AFTER THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE, WHICH AT LEAST ONE GDR SOURCE FREELY ADMITS HAS CAUSED CONSTERNATION IN WARSAW PACT CIRCLES. FINALLY, HIS TREATMENT OF THE US IS AMBIVALENT, MARKED BY BOTH HEADY SATISFACTION THAT HONECKER ACTUALLY TALKED WITH THE PRESIDENT AND BY POINTED CRITICISM OF US DEFENSE SPENDING AND THE SUPPOSEDLY ANTI-DETENTE ACTIVITIES OF THE US MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX. A HIGH GDR FOREIGN CONFIDENTIAL

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MINISTRY SOURCE HAS SAID THE SPEECH SHOULD BE INTERPRETED AS COMPLIMENTARY TO THE US AND IN GENERAL DESIGNED FOR HOME CONSUMPTION. THE LATTER POINT IS PROBABLY CORRECT, FOR THE GDR IS STILL AT PAINS TO COUNTER THE POTENTIALLY DISRUPTIVE EFFECTS OF POPULAR EXPECTATIONS REGARDING A CHANGE IN GDR INFORMATION OR TRAVEL POLICY AS A RESULT OF CSCE. THE PUBLICITY BUILDUP FOR CSCE IN THE GDR PRESS BEFORE HELSINKI HAD THE UNDESIRABLE RESULT, FROM THE GDR VIEWPOINT, OF FUELING PUBLIC CURIOSITY ABOUT THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE. AXEN'S POLITBURO REPORT, DELIVERED IN THE CONTEXT OF PREPARATIONS FOR THE NINTH SED PARTY CONGRESS IN MAY, 1976, THUS WAS INTENDED FOREMOST TO REACH THE EAST GERMAN POPULATION AND, LIKE THE HONECKER SPEECH OF SEPTEMBER 11, PLAYED UPON THE THEME OF CONTINUED THREATS FROM THE IMPERIALIST WORLD OUTSIDE TO MAKE CLEAR THAT SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS WILL TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER THE HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS OF CSCE. COOPER

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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** COLLECTIVE SECURITY, REPORTS, POLITICAL PARTIES, SUMMIT MEETINGS, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS, RESOLUTIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 10 OCT 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** ellisoob  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975BERLIN06523  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**Office:** ACTION EUR  
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**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 6  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** ellisoob  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 05 MAY 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <05 MAY 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <29 SEP 2003 by ellisoob>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
06 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** GDR POLITBURO REPORT ON RESULTS OF HELSINKI  
**TAGS:** PFOR, GC, CSCE, SED, (AXEN, HERMANN)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006